THE SPEECH OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES JAMES FOX.

RB 23 b. 336

THE

SPEECH

OF THE

Right Hon. *Charles James Fox*,

IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ON THE

IRISH RESOLUTIONS,

ON THURSDAY, MAY 12, 1785;

TO WHICH IS ADDED

An Authentic Copy of the RESOLUTIONS,

as ORIGINALLY propoſed and now ALTERED

by Mr. CHANCELLOR PITT.

LONDON:

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THE

SPEECH, &c.

Houſe of Commons,

Die Jovis 12°. *Maii*, 1785.

THE Houſe went into a committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider further of Iriſh affairs; and having concluded the hearing of evidence againſt the eleven reſolutions, ſubmitted to them as the baſis for the ſyſtem of commercial intercourſe between the two countries.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt roſe, and propoſed ſeveral alterations and additions to the reſolutions. After having ſtated the whole of them as the ſyſtem, which he offered for the final adjuſtment between the two kingdoms, he concluded with moving the firſt propoſition.

Lord North ſaid, that the important alterations propoſed by the right honourable Gentleman, demanded in fairneſs, that the committee ſhould have time for enquiry and deliberation. He therefore propoſed that Mr. Gilbert ſhould leave the chair of the Committee, and report progreſs, by which the propoſitions as amended, might be printed for the uſe of the members, that they might have an opportunity of deliberating on their merits before they came to decide. He concluded with moving, "That Mr. Gilbert do now leave the chair."

The queſtion being put,

Mr.

The *right honourable* CHARLES JAMES FOX roſe and addreſſed himſelf to the chair.

Mr. Gilbert,

Though I now riſe to ſubmit my ſentiments on the preſent important ſubject, yet I beg it may be underſtood by the committee, that I ſhall chearfully give way to any gentleman on the other ſide, who may be authorized to declare, it is not meant to preſs us to a vote this night. I do not conceive it poſſible indeed, that any objection can be made to the motion of my noble friend. The vaſt variety of matter perfectly new, as well as the numerous alterations of that which we had previouſly before us, demanding the moſt minute and accurate diſcuſſion; ſurely the right honourable Gentleman will not force the committee, at an hour ſo unſeaſonable, to come to a deciſion upon ſo difficult and ſo perplexed a ſubject.—I have paüſed, Sir, to give an opportunity for diſcovering, if ſuch be the intention of gentlemen: but I now find from their continued ſilence, it is evident they are determined, at all events, to precipitate the committee to this extraordinary and unparalelled deciſion.—I muſt therefore intreat a more

than uſual indulgence from the committee, if, compelled as I find myſelf to enter into this important diſcuſſion, I ſhall, even at ſo late an hour, intrude for a conſiderable length of time on their patience. The committee will recollect, that in addition to the *eleven* original propoſitions, no leſs than *ſixteen* new ones are now for the firſt time ſubmitted to Parliament; ſo that at one o'clock in the morning, I have to enter into the diſcuſſion of no leſs than *twenty ſeven* of the moſt important and complex propoſitions that ever were the ſubject of parliamentary debate. Nor is this the whole of the difficulty: the ſixteen ſupplemental propoſitions are not confined to verbal explanations, or to mere literal amendments of the former; on the contrary, they directly change the whole tenour, and abſolutely ſubvert the main principle of the original ſyſtem, upon which the right honourable Gentleman declared it to be his fixed intention to proceed: ſo that in truth they are altogether as unexpected, as they obviouſly are new and contradictory. Surely therefore, under circumſtances ſo very novel and embarraſſing, I may with

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leſs preſumption intreat the Committee to forgive that unavoidable intruſion on their time, which muſt be the conſequence of compelling us to come to a vote on ſo interreſting and ſo complicated a ſubject, before it is ſcarcely poſſible for Gentlemen to form even any general ideas on the whole of the ſubject, as it is now modelled.

But firſt with reſpect to this extraordinary ſyſtem, moſt undoubtedly the claim of merit in being the author of it, can admit of no queſtion. My noble friend has waved all poſſible pretenſions to it, but not, I am ſure, more chearfully than I concur with him in declaring it to be the ſole and entire poſſeſſion of the right honorable Gentleman who has officially produced it. With him let the whole credit of it reſide, undiſputed and unenvied—He indeed who contends with him for its honours, muſt be inſtigated by unjuſtifiable motives. For ſurely never did there appear a work more compleatly, more indiviſibly the ſole and genuine compoſition of its author, than the preſent ſyſtem evidently demonſtrates itſelf

itſelf to be excluſively the work of the right honourable Gentleman. No neceſſity can be alledged to have given riſe to it, for it flows from the mere will of the propoſer. No urgent—no preſſing calamity bore a ſhare in its introduction. It is the offspring of peace and domeſtic tranquility. Surely therefore, it would be falſe and injurious to alledge, that the people of Ireland had forced the Britiſh Miniſter into a tame ſurrender of the manufactures and commerce of our country. The fact is directly the reverſe. The Britiſh Miniſter has proferred this ſurrender from his own mere motion, his own ſound will, and his own unbiaſſed judgement. Unqueſtionably therefore, he, and he only, is clearly intitled to reap and to enjoy all the merits and all the honours of a ſyſtem ſo completely and ſo perfectly his own.

Perhaps indeed, from the examples which the right honourable Gentleman has ſo frequently afforded us of a wonderful perſeverance in the defence of his own opinions, and at the ſame time as complete an adoption of the

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amendments which we ſuggeſt, and he himſelf diſapproves, we ought not to be very much aſtoniſhed at any new and ſudden appearance that his preſent ſyſtem may have aſſumed; but I confeſs however, it was with conſiderable aſtoniſhment that I heard the right honourable Gentleman ſtate his *new propoſitions*. For theſe, Sir, are at once, directly, totally, and vitally in contradiction to the whole of that ſyſtem on which he ſet out, and from which, if we had *truſted merely to his own ſolemn declarations*, we muſt have believed it impoſſible that he could deviate in the minuteſt degree—In ſaying this the Committee muſt be ſenſible that I ſpeak merely from the impreſſion which the Reſolutions have made on my mind as they were curſorily read over and explained by the right honourable Gentleman. I have not had time, and the Committee are not to be permitted to have time, to read and weigh theſe propoſitions before they determine upon their merits—But ſuch is the impreſſion, which on the firſt bluſh they have made upon my mind.

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I have all along underſtood, that the baſis of the right honourable Gentleman's original ſyſtem, was, *reciprocity in correſpondent duties*, and *reciprocity in the prohibition of the export of raw materials*. Now theſe principles, in my mind, the right honourable Gentleman has compleatly abandoned in his new propoſitions—*for* particularly in the article of *beer*, an exception is made to the reciprocity in correſpondent duties, and, in the ſeventh reſolution a change is made with reſpect to prohibitions. The right honourable Gentleman has, therefore, *retracted* and *recanted* his original principles; he has abandoned the ground on which he ſet out; and on which he ſo frequently pledged himſelf that the whole of his propoſitions ſhould *ſtand* or *fall*. He has abandoned the reciprocity in correſpondent duties; he has abandoned the reciprocal prohibition of raw materials. In theſe inſtances, which if they are ſaid to be trifling in themſelves, are not trifles when conſidered as *departures* from *principle*; he has abandoned his ground, and by doing this, he opens a *new ſyſtem*, and comes forward with a ſet of propoſitions, ſo far

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forth *diametrically oppoſite* to, and *fundamentally different* from, that ſyſtem which he himſelf has moſt repeatedly aſſured us, could not poſſibly admit of the ſlighteſt change, and was, indeed, to be wholly *inviolable*.

The right honourable Gentleman reprobates the charge which has been imputed to him, of *raſhneſs* in the *original propoſitions*. Was there ever a charge made with more truth, or demonſtrated with more clearneſs? Has not the right honourable Gentleman's conduct on this day given the moſt unequivocal teſtimony to the *original raſhneſs* of his ſyſtem? What can be a more deciſive proof of *original raſhneſs*, than *ſubſequent retraction?* The right honourable Gentleman brings forward a ſet of reſolutions, as the *baſis* of a *ſyſtem* for the intercourſe between the two countries—He pledges the government of this kingdom for the *literal* eſtabliſhment of his ſyſtem—He proudly reſiſts enquiry and ſcorns deliberation—but, when circumſtances ariſe which he has not ability to overcome, and time, in ſpite

of his oppoſition, is procured for enquiry and diſcuſſion, he is conſtrained to acknowledge the errors of his *firſt opinions*, and he comes forward with a ſet of propoſitions *directly* the *reverſe* of the former—If this does not exhibit the raſhneſs of the right honourable Gentleman in colours more warm and durable than any with which we on this ſide the Houſe, were able to characterize his conduct, I ſubmit to the Committee and the public. The *raſhneſs* of the right honourable Gentleman, is proved by the right honourable Gentleman himſelf; and it is ſingularly ſtriking — that by the whole of his behaviour — the *raſhneſs* of *one day* is to be proved by the *raſhneſs* of *another*. He now brings forward to the Committee a ſet of Propoſitions directly contradictory to thoſe on which he firſt proceeded; and having thus himſelf demonſtrated the raſhneſs of his own conduct in the firſt inſtance, he becomes enamoured of this boaſted weakneſs, and yet moſt liberally determines that we alſo ſhall be admitted to a full participation of it, by a raſh, premature adoption of theſe his lateſt notions; which however, may as ſuddenly and as

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conſiſtently be abandoned as the former.—So hoſtile is he to deliberation, ſuch an avowed enemy to every thing that looks like inquiry and reflection, that even on this day, when he is ſuffering the ſhame of raſhneſs, he calls upon us to be raſh. Though his Propoſitions have been but once curſiorily read over, and in that reading embelliſhed and ſet off with all the luſtre of his eloquence,—though they are perfectly new,—and although he has not ſubmitted them to the Committee till *after midnight*,—he demands and compells us to come to a vote on them. The *decency* of this conduct I will not inſiſt upon,—but thus driven, thus forced to a diviſion, I muſt, however unwilling to give a haſty negative, vote directly againſt his Propoſitions,—as conceiving them to be at the beſt *unneceſſary*—moſt probably as *pernicious*—but undoubtedly ſo productive of an entire change and revolution in our commercial ſyſtem, as to involve a train of conſequences, againſt which the wiſeſt and beſt characters of this country might deſpair of providing any adequate ſecurity.

But, Sir, I muſt *congratulate* the *committee* — I muſt *congratulate* my *Country* on the happy *eſcape* which we have made from the ſyſtem propoſed by the right honourable Gentleman but two months ſince. That ſyſtem, the *ruin* of which has been this day ſo ably demonſtrated, was then *within four and twenty hours* of being carried through this Houſe, to which, when we look back on all the circumſtances of the caſe, we muſt indeed rejoice in our fortunate eſcape. The firſt Propoſitions, when they were originally opened in this Houſe, were pronounced to be ſo *pure* and *beneficial* — ſo *clearly* and *demonſtrably perfect*, that not a *moment* was to be waſted in the vain diſcuſſion of their merits. The right honourable Gentleman therefore inveighed againſt the ſtrange uncandid oppoſition which was made to thoſe his firſt Propoſitions.—He attributed the opinions of this ſide of the Houſe to mere faction and diſappointment, — he called our ſolemn appeals to the legiſlature and to the nation, illiberal artifices to excite unneceſſary clamour, — he gave a haughty defiance to the manufacturers and merchants, to exhibit any reaſonable

able argument againſt a ſyſtem ſo replete with every beneficial conſequence to themſelves; and he triumphed in the circumſtance, that for ſome days not a ſingle petition was brought to the Houſe from any part of the country againſt thoſe propoſitions; —afterwards indeed, he was forced to abate from this triumph, he found no want of petitions, nor of argument, but his language was ſtill lofty and his mind implacable.—His ſyſtem was ſo ſuperior to the petulance and faction of thoſe who oppoſed it, that he declared his reſolution of carrying it into a law, even to the *letter* of the ſpecific reſolutions. Convinced, however, as we always were, that theſe Reſolutions were fraught with injury and ruin to the manufactures and commerce of this country, we warned—we conjured the Houſe to deliberate—to call for information—to examine thoſe, who, from their ſituations, were the moſt likely to have intelligence.—We called for the Commiſſioners of Cuſtoms, and the Commiſſioners of Exciſe—that the Houſe might learn from them, whether from the operation of theſe Reſolutions

lutions the revenues of the country were not inſtantly expoſed to inſurmountable dangers. The right honourable Gentleman reprobated the proceeding—He aſſerted, that we called for theſe Commiſſioners merely to gain time—that our purpoſe was inſidious delay, in order to inflame the public, and ſtir up factious clamours. But what has been the iſſue of all this? Will the right honourable Gentleman now dare to attribute our conduct to thoſe unworthy motives? The commiſſioners, whoſe opinions on the ſubject he conſidered of ſo little avail, have declared by their report, that material and alarming injury would unavoidably ariſe from theſe Reſolutions, fraught as they conceive them to be with innumerable dangers. But ſtill more ſtrongly has the right honourable Gentleman himſelf, on this day, deſcribed, in his own beautiful language, the variety of ruinous conſequences that muſt have attended his original ſyſtem. He himſelf has enumerated to the Committee the long train of evils we have eſcaped, by oppoſing his Propoſitions—he himſelf has emphatically deſcribed the deſtruction we

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ſhould have incurred by adopting his own exploded ſyſtem. Let the Committee recollect the detail of fatal conſequences thus authoratitively admitted.

Firſt, it has been now admitted, that if the original Reſolutions had paſſed, *We ſhould have loſt for ever the monopoly of the Eaſt-India trade.* It has been admitted, that we could no longer have renewed the excluſive charter of the Company; but the ſiſter kingdom, having once an equal power with ourſelves to trade to Aſia, we muſt wholly have depended on the will of Ireland for a renewal of the charter, by which the monopoly could alone have been maintained.

If theſe Reſolutions had paſſed into a law, it has equally been admitted, *We muſt have hazarded all the revenue ariſing from ſpirituous Liquors*; no diſtinction having been made between our own and foreign liquors, nor any proviſion thought of to prevent their admiſſion into this country.

If theſe Reſolutions had paſſed into a law, *we ſhould equally have ſacrificed the whole of the Navigation Laws of this country.* Theſe laws, the great ſource of our commercial opulence, the prime origin of our maritime ſtrength, would at once have been delivered up in truſt to Ireland, leaving us for ever after totally dependent on her policy, and on her bounty, for the future guardianſhip of our deareſt intereſts.

If theſe Reſolutions had paſſed into a law, *we ſhould have opened the door to a more extenſive contraband trade than ever yet was known to exiſt in this country*; for not a ſhadow of protection was provided againſt every ſpecies of ſmuggling—not even the means which we think it neceſſary to uſe in our own traffic from port to port—that of requiring bonds, cockets, and other inſtruments, on goods ſent coaſtwiſe.

If theſe Reſolutions had been carried into a law, *we ſhould have endangered the loſs of the colonial market to the manufactures of Great Britain*; for no

no care was taken to prevent Ireland from giving bounties, or allowing drawbacks, on goods exported to the colonies: ſo that it was left in their power to give ſo deciſive an advantage to their own manufactures, as muſt have aſcertained to them the market, or, which would have been equally ruinous, have forced us to enter into a warfare of bounties, to the extinction of our revenues.

If theſe Reſolutions had been carried into a law, as *Extenſive dangers muſt have equally been incurred by our Colonies*; for not a ſingle proviſion was ſtipulated for laying permanent high duties, inſtead of annual high duties, on the produce of foreign colonies imported into Ireland: ſo that, at any future time, Ireland might have taken off the annual high duties, and given admiſſion to the produce of foreign colonies, on terms, which muſt compleately have ruined our Weſt-India Iſlands—I need not ſtate to the Committee a fact ſo univerſally known, as that the produce of our colonies is dearer than that of the foreign iſlands—

But we have nevertheleſs preferred the home market, on account of the natural intereſt which we have in them; and undoubtedly we muſt continue to do ſo.—Ireland has no ſuch obligation—On the contrary, her intereſt would as forcibly lead her to the Foreign Colonies.—If theſe Reſolutions therefore had paſſed into a law, we ſhould irretrivably have been bound to our part of the bargain, whereas Ireland would by no means have been confined to hers. If thoſe Reſolutions had paſſed into a law, by the monſtrous incongruity of the fifth, *it would have been in the power of Ireland to draw a revenue from our conſumption.* — They had only to lay an internal duty in Ireland, on the articles of our conſumption, equal to the internal duty that might exiſt on ſuch articles in this Country, and it muſt have followed, that they of courſe would have drawn the *revenue* from the country that was to conſume the goods.—This aſtoniſhing abſurdity is done away by the removal of the latter part of the fifth Reſolution.—Thus alſo, if theſe Reſolutions had paſſed into a law, the leather trade

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muſt as certainly have been ruined; for though *We* were bound in all future time to ſend our oak-bark to Ireland *duty free*, Ireland was not bound to prohibit the exportation of raw hides to Great Britain, without which the trade could not ſubſiſt.

Theſe are ſome few of the evils, which confeſſedly would have taken place, if the original reſolutions, which the right honourable Gentleman propoſed but two months ago, had unfortunately paſſed into a law. All theſe menaces, theſe fatal conſequences of his own raſh ſyſtem, the right honourable Gentleman has on this day himſelf acknowledged, at the ſame moment that he introduces, for the firſt time, a new ſet of complicated Propoſitions, in remedy of the detected miſchiefs of the former.—In doing this, he has at once compleatly changed the ground on which he firſt ſet out; for having originally declared, that the very ſpirit and ſoul of his ſyſtem was to ſquare and finally determine the relative ſituation of the two countries, he then maintained that this ſalutary, this grand, primary object, could only

be accompliſhed by a complete and perfect Reciprocity; yet that eſſential, that vital principle, he has now totally and directly abandoned, as well in the remarkable change, which he has introduced in the ſeventh reſolution, as in the article of Beer, the export of which is of infinite conſequence. Reciprocity therefore, which was the *vital principle*, the *ſpirit*, the *quinteſſence* of his ſyſtem, is now completely *abandoned*.

That theſe alterations are for the better, I moſt chearfully admit.—Undoubtedly, they tend to make the preſent ſyſtem far more palatable to Engliſhmen.—Why then, it may be aſked, do I now ſtate them?—Clearly for this reaſon: to manifeſt to the Houſe the important benefits of Deliberation.—I mention them, to ſhew, that the alarm given by Gentlemen of this ſide of the Houſe, was a moſt *fortunate alarm* for this country.—By that fortunate alarm, the manufacturing communities in every corner of the kingdom have been apprized of their danger; they have had time to come forward; they have had time to give

give thoſe lights to the Committee, which have been the happy means of producing the alterations of this day. I mention them to ſhew what muſt have been the conſequences to the Empire, if the Committee had implicitly fallen into the ſyſtem, which the *raſhneſs* of the Right Honourable Gentleman,—I will not ſay his *ignorance*,—but which, to give it an eaſier term,—his *extraordinary confidence in his own abilities*, induced him ſo peremptorily and ſo authorotatively to propoſe.

There is alſo another, and even more powerful reaſon for my enlarging on theſe important alterations. It is, Sir, to convince the Committee, that there is ſtill a powerful appeal to our Equity, our Benevolence, and even our Common Senſe, for affording the Merchants and Manufacturers of this country a much longer period of deliberation, and ſurely as ſtrong a claim on the juſtice of the Miniſter, to ſuſpend the vote of the Committee on a queſtion of ſuch infinite magnitude to all our juſt and deareſt intereſts. The Committee will be taught, by a due eſtimation of the benefits already acquired from ſalutary delays, that moſt important

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advantages are ever to be derived from fair inquiry and impartial diſcuſſion. If in two months ſuch ſerious and conſequential errors have been diſcovered, what may we not expect from longer time and more careful inveſtigation? If in two months the Right Honourable Gentleman has *gleaned* ſo much from this ſide of the Houſe, and from Gentlemen, whoſe ideas he certainly is not much diſpoſed *avowedly* and *ingenuouſly* to adopt, however willing he may be to benefit in ſecret from them; what may we not expect, when his *bright talents* have had more time to work on the ſuggeſtions with which we have furniſhed him? That he has largely profited from this ſide of the Houſe, the Committee will readily perceive; neither will they, I believe, conſider it extremely preſumptuous, if I arrogate ſome degree of honour to myſelf, in having contributed a little to the amendments of this day. From my Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Eden) the Miniſter has certainly collected many more of his new opinions. Surely, therefore, from the excellent uſe, which the Right Honourable Gentleman has already made of our diſcoveries and ſuggeſtions, it will more and more be the

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wiſh of all impartial men, that he ſhould have time to mature the many other matters, which he has not yet ſo far honoured us as entirely to adopt. For what muſt be the *fruits* of thoſe ideas, how ample, how rich muſt be the harveſt they produce, when his protecting hand ſhall raiſe them from obſcurity to a richer ſoil; when he himſelf ſhall "tranſplant them to his own fair garden, where "the Sun always ſhines." Nothing ſurely can be more beneficial than to wait for their *mature production*.—I ſpeak for myſelf, and I am ſure I may ſpeak alſo for my Right Honourable Friend, and the other gentlemen round me, that we ſhall be happy to truſt our progeny to his care. If he is a *plagiary*, he is a *plagiary* uncommonly endowed; for he decorates that which he ſteals in apparel ſo gay and luxuriant,—he enriches whatever he takes with ſuch additions of flowers and embroidery, that though, as their legitimate parents, we recognize our own offſpring, we view them with no ſmall degree of wonder in their ſtrange and ſumptuous attire. On this day, indeed, we may be proud to contemplate the predominating efficacy of our own ſuggeſtions; and

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on this day alone has the Right Honourable Gentleman, for the very firſt time, condeſcended to depart from the uſual ſtatelineſs and overbearing ſenſe of his own ſuperiority. Upon this day, with new and unaccuſtomed affability, he neither reprobates nor reviles the opinions to which he has deigned to accede. It is to us a ſtrange and unexpected triumph, not indeed to have our ideas *received* by the Right Honourable Gentleman, (in that acceptance he is courteſy itſelf) but to hear them, even in the moment they are admitted, unſtigmatiſed by the receiver, nor as uſual traduced in words, while they are approved in fact, and vilified at the very moment of their adoption.

The Right Honourable Gentleman, whom my noble friend (Lord North) moſt truly painted, when he aſſerted, that "he had a "mind which found gratification in invec-"tive," * has this day alluded to a letter, written

* Lord North ſaid, in the courſe of his ſpeech, "There "are ſome men, Mr. Gilbert, who ſeem to be organized "for ſlander,—There are ſome men who, by the pecu-"liar temperament of their nature, find gratification in "invective

ten by the noble Lord, as a diſpatch from Ireland, during the adminiſtration of which I had the honour to make a part, and he has inſinuated, that the letter manifeſted an intention in that adminiſtration to have gone the lengths of the preſent ſyſtem, "if they had had energy ſufficient for "ſo great an adventure." I did not expect, that *even from him* ſuch a conſtruction would have been put upon that diſpatch. From his colleagues in *office*, I am confident of meeting with more candour. But the letter has been read. I ſubmit to the Committee the terms of that letter, and call upon them to ſay, if the Engliſh language could furniſh expreſſions more deciſive of the contrary opinion, than thoſe in which we declared to the then Lord Lieutenant, that we could not encourage

"invective, and ſo eager are they for the enjoyment of "their luſt, that they go about to ſeek for blemiſhes, in "order to expoſe them; and in the purſuit of their game, "they will ſometimes pretend to find them were they are "not. Such men, if they propoſe any meaſure, are in-"finitely more deſirous to make it ſtand upon the *faults of* "*others*, than on *its own merits*—And ſuch a man I take "the Right Honourable Gentleman to be."

him to make a promiſe to Ireland, which, if fulfilled, would be deſtructive to Britain. In that opinion we were then unanimous—and to that opinion we firmly adhere.—But are theſe the *arts* by which the noble Lord and I are to be degraded in the eyes of Britain? Let the miniſter perſiſt in theſe unworthy inſinuations. He ſhall not deter us from what we know to be our duty. He ſhall not overcome that deliberate firmneſs, which, after healing the calamities of Ireland, and happily eſtabliſhing both her commercial and conſtitutional liberty, had ſufficient ſpirit, ſufficient juſtice to withhold what it were ruin to relinquiſh, and what indeed was as little expected or ſought by Ireland, as it was ſafe or juſt for an Adminiſtration here to beſtow. That letter, which was written by the Noble Lord in his official capacity, was of too much conſequence to be written under the ſanction of any individual department. Every one of his Majeſty's confidential ſervants was privy to the meaſure, nor was any diſpatch ever made up on a more decided and unanimous opinion. Let the right honourable

honourable Gentleman refer to ſome of his preſent colleagues for information on the point. "As to "the want of energy—the temporizing ſpirit— "the half meaſures—and the expedients of getting "over a ſeſſion by a Poſt Office or an Admiralty "Court;"—all theſe are inſinuations which my noble friend has compleatly refuted. Neither the Poſt Office nor the Admiralty Court were conceded as *expedients* to get over a ſeſſion. They were neither given nor accepted as boons. They were the natural conſequences of the previous change of ſyſtem. They flowed naturally from the new ſituation in which Ireland ſtood, by the independence of her legiſlature. What occaſion had we for expedients to get over a ſeſſion? The Lord Lieutenant of that day enjoyed as high a degree of confidence, and deſerved it as well, as any nobleman that ever filled the ſtation. *We* were guilty of no *violences*, and there exiſted no *clamour*.

I cannot help ſtopping here for a moment to make a remark on a curious diſtinction to which

the right honourable Gentleman appears moſt remarkably attached—a diſtinction which betrays a feeling that I cannot well deſcribe—a ſort of *ſelf-complacency*—a kind of *over-pleaſure* with his own ſituation. In ſpeaking of the Noble Lord in the Blue Ribband at different periods, he is ever olicitous of diſtinguiſhing between the *Firſt Lord of the Treaſury* and the mere *Secretary of State*. In the one character he aſcribes to him all the dignity of *ſovereign rank*, of *ſuperintendency*, and of *ſole authority*—In the other, he conſiders him as rather acting *under* or *with* a miniſtry, than *as* a Miniſter poſſeſſed either of power or reſponſibility. He ſays of him at one time, "When the Noble Lord was "the *Miniſter of the country*." At another, "When "the Noble Lord held a *ſubordinate* ſituation in the "Cabinet."—By theſe diſtinctions, the right honourable Gentleman takes a juvenile pleaſure in glancing at his own elevation. He conſiders the perſonage who fills the united offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, as a character ſo lofty and exalted, ſo ſupereminent in his ſtation, that he muſt on no account

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be confounded with inferior perſons. In like manner when he talks of Coalitions, and reprobates them, he is moved by the ſame feeling. His charge againſt me and others, is for coaleſcing with *the Miniſter* — the great *ſuperintending Miniſter* of the American war! His own Coalitions he can readily defend by the very ſame diſtinction; "I own, he ſays, I have certainly coaleſced with "*ſome* of the miniſters, who were concerned in "the patronage and conduct of the American "war—they, however, were inferior characters— "*Lords, Chancellors of England*, and ſuch like per- "ſons, *of no account*—but never have I been ſo "infamous and abandoned, as to form a coalition "with the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and the "*Firſt Lord of the Treaſury*—the great *ſuperintend-* "*ing Miniſter* of the *Crown*, who was the *ſoul* of "the ſyſtem."—I do not, Sir, enlarge upon this *feeling* of the right honourable Gentleman, as a charge againſt him—It is a *feeling*, in the enjoyment of which, I am by no means inclined to diſturb him: a feeling, in the indulgence of which, I know indeed of no perſon that has any intereſt

to diſturb him, unleſs indeed there may be ſome of his immediate colleagues, who may think it would be ſomewhat more decent in him to gratify his paſſion or his pride in a mode leſs publicly, offenſive both to their ſpirit and their dignity.

But to return to the Propoſitions on the table, I muſt now renew the obſervation that I made in the outſet of this buſineſs, namely, that there was a groſs and fundamental error in *originating* theſe Propoſitions in the Iriſh Parliament. Independant of the inſult to the Parliament of this country, in not ſubmitting, for their conſideration, a great and extenſive innovation in the whole ſyſtem of our commerce, till *after* it had been *determined* upon in Ireland; ſurely the experience of this day ſufficiently demonſtrates the *impolicy* of ſo ſtrange a meaſure—For is it not evident, that, after the Parliament and people of Ireland have been ſuffered to cheriſh the belief, that the Reſolutions which the miniſters of that kingdom aſſured them, would be religi-

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ouſly adhered to as the baſis of the new ſyſtem—the Miniſters of England come forward, and change the *ſpirit*, *principle* and *tendency* of theſe Reſolutions? Is it to be imagned, that, after the *ſolemn pledge*, which the people of Ireland have received from their miniſters, and which undoubtedly was held out to their Parliament, as a ſufficient ground for an immediate extenſion of their revenue; is it to be imagined, I ſay, that, by any private tampering with the individual leaders of a party, the whole body of that nation will as rapidly acquieſce in the ſupplemental Reſolutions now brought forward, as they at firſt did in the original Propoſitions; and when too the latter are directly framed, to weaken and diminiſh the effect of the former, which they who propoſed them in Ireland, had preremptorily inſiſted ſhould never undergo the ſlighteſt or moſt minute infringement? Nothing could be more abſurd than the ſtate of this proceeding. Firſt, the original Propoſitions were made in Ireland — Now the amendments are made in England. The Iriſh thus expoſed what alone would content them, and they were offered

offered it without knowing whether it was what England would grant—Now England is called upon to ſay what ſhe will give, without knowing whether it is what Ireland would take. Thus a double inconveniency and dilemma ariſes from the ſtrange and incoherent proceeding. Nor was this the only impolicy in the mode of conducting this extraordinary meaſure.

His Majeſty's Miniſters erected a *Board* of *Trade* under the name of a *Committee* of the Privy Council, which certainly with proper regulations, I ſhould conſider as a wiſe and wholeſome inſtitution; but this Board was appointed not to prepare materials for the ſyſtem with Ireland; not to ſupply Government with information upon which they might deliberately proceed, to the adjuſtment of the intercourſe between the two kingdoms. On the contrary, this Board was appointed to inquire rather into the propriety of what Miniſters were actually doing, than of what they ought to do. For at the preciſe time when Mr. Secretary Orde firſt agitated the buſineſs in the

Iriſh

Iriſh Houſe of Commons, this Committee of Privy Council were employed in the examination of evidence, and the diſcuſſion of points, on which the merits of the propoſed arrangement were ultimately to be eſtimated. Never ſurely was a Board of Privy Council ſo perverted, ſo *degraded* as this! not appointed to *inveſtigate* and examine all the neceſſary evidence as a preliminay to an important meaſure—not conſtituted to deliberate on the various effects and conſequences of a great national charge, the outline of which was merely in idea, unſettled, and unadopted by the Miniſter; but in truth to provide a poſthumous defence for a plan already fixed, and to fabricate a vindication for miſchiefs, too far advanced to admit of qualification or amendment. With ſuch views, and for ſuch purpoſes, was this Board of Privy Council at firſt convened.—A right honourable Gentleman(Mr. Jenkinſon) whoſe feelings, on being ſtudiouſly excluded from all the miniſterial departments of State, it was found not wholly unexpedient to conſole and ſoothe, by ſome temporary delegation of inſignificant eminence, was pru-

dently appointed to the preſidency of this mock Committee. No higher mark of confidence was then beſtowed on the *now avowed* aſſociate of the great ſuperintendant Miniſter — On the report however of ſuch a Board thus conſtituted, and thus directed, did the Chancellor of the Exchequer call upon this Houſe, to depend with unreſerved confidence for the complete juſtification of his plan — In other words, we were to truſt the moſt important rights of Britiſh Commerce to the opinion of a Board of the King's Privy Counſellors, appointed by the King's Miniſters themſelves, to enquire whether the meaſure that they had adopted was wiſe or the contrary — Can the Committee imagine any thing more trifling, more frivolous, more vain and abſurd, than ſo partial an appeal? Do we not all know that when his Majeſty's Miniſters are committed on any one point, the ſervants whom they employ, muſt be careful not to deliver an opinion hoſtile to that meaſure? The Board of Council are ſelected by the Miniſters not as deliberate judges of his conduct; it were the extreme of folly to conſider them

them in ſuch a light—on the contrary, it was their object to afford every poſſible ſupport to meaſures which they were called upon directly to countenance. This always was, and ever muſt be the caſe; and ſo indeed the Committee of Privy Council, in the preſent inſtance, ſeem entirely to have conſidered it. At firſt, indeed, before the Miniſter had thought it ſafe to communicate his plan to the right honourable Preſident of this Board, ſome opinions, far from favourable to the plan, did appear upon their Minutes, and of courſe, are ſtill to be diſcovered in their Report; but this was a tranſient gloom; from the moment that the preſent complete intelligence and intimacy was eſtabliſhed between the right honourable Preſident and the miniſters, a new light ſeemed to flaſh at once on the whole Board of Council; the happieſt means were inſtantly purſued to effect the concealment of Miniſterial error; the moſt deciſive mode of examining witneſſes was ſyſtematically obſerved—not only the moſt apt and artful queſtions were propounded, but with equal ſkill the moſt fortunate anſwers were generally provided—all

however was carried on with much plauſibility and ſtatelineſs of deportment. —" It was an open Court " —It was acceſſible to witneſſes of all deſcrip- " tions, and accordingly (as was repeatedly aſ- " ſerted), Gentlemen attended them of their own " accord, and voluntarily offered their impartial " teſtimony, on the various articles of their re- " ſpective manufactures."—But how has this deſcription been verified?—We have it in proof, that every individual witneſs, who attended that Board, was expreſsly ſent for—and that queſtions were put of an abſtract nature, and on premiſes unexplained. We have found too that the anſwers ſo obtained were reſerved, to be brought in contradiction to opinions, which, when the premiſes were fully examined, and the conſequences weighed, it was obvious could not fail to be ſtated in teſtimony at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons. The right honourable Gentleman, who is at the head of this Board (Mr. Jenkinſon) has thought proper however to inform us, that the Manufacturers were voluntary attendants on the Committee—But to this more than one Gentleman

tleman of eminence and reſpect has directly anſwered, that in truth the witneſſes were expreſsly ſent for; Mr. Roſe of the Treaſury having repeatedly entreated them to attend the Committee —" *Ay*, ſays the right honourable Gentleman, *but* " *we have nothing to do with Mr. Roſe, nor with* " *the Treaſury*—WE did not ſend for you."

It is ſaid in praiſe of ſimplicity of action, " That the right hand knoweth not what the left hand doeth." Perhaps this may be the caſe here; but which, Sir, is the *right hand* and which the *left* of the preſent Adminiſtration, it is not ſo eaſy to aſcertain. Certainly the Chancellor of the Exchequer has till of late been fond of diſclaiming all connection with certain obnoxious characters; He has generally, in high tone and pompous parade, diſavowed and reprobated all intimacy, all friendſhip, all connection, with the right honourable Gentleman who has long been ſuſpected of promoting an undue influence in the Government of this country. But all this was the language of a period when the momentary popu-

popularity which the Miniſter had obtained had placed him above the degradation of ſo obnoxious a connexion—When the conduct of the popular branch of the Conſtitution was beſtowed upon the preſent Miniſter, under the deſcription and character of a popular ſtateſmen, it would indeed have been madneſs in the extreme to have held any other language of one whoſe habits, whoſe principles, whoſe avowed prejudices marked him out as utterly diſqualified for a ſituation, which even in common prudence, ought never to be ſubject to the direct controul, or to the diſguiſed influence of Prerogative. When the ſcene however began to change, when the Iriſh Reſolutions excited allarm, and the minds of men were irritated at ſo laviſh a ſurrender of every thing that was dear—when the right honourable Gentleman began to feel himſelf weak and inſecure—his language was leſs inflated—his proud rejection of obnoxious characters was heard no more.

" Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exul uterque,
" Projicit *Ampullas* et *ſeſquipedalia* Verba.

" Miſery makes us acquainted with ſtrange companions".

panions."—For my own part, Sir, though I have always conſidered the right honourable Gentleman alluded to, as an objectionable character for mixing in the conduct of the Britiſh Government, yet I muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, that in this ſingular inſtance his cautious temper, his patient laborious habits have undoubtedly been well employed in correcting the ſtrange incoherent levities of the original propoſitions. And therefore it would be wholly unfair to withhold the merit of ſome of the alterations of this day from the inſtruction and advice ſo generouſly adminiſtered by the right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Jenkinſon) in the hour of danger and neceſſity.

But to return to the Committee of Privy Council; I cannot ſuppreſs my indignation at the petty, miſerable plan which I am ſorry to find they have purſued; of firſt entrapping witneſſes by inducing them to give haſty anſwers to queſtions unexplained—and afterwards in endeavouring to detect contradictions in their evidence, when

when they came, at the diſtance of ſix weeks, to ſpeak at the bar of this Committee. Upon ſuch conduct, very ill becoming in a Board of Privy Councel, I cannot but obſerve, that undoubtedly it would have been far more graceful for the right honourable Gentleman to have lent his utmoſt aid to the manufacturers of this country, when they were forced to the bar of this Committee in ſupport of their deareſt privileges—ſurely upon ſuch an occaſion he ought himſelf to have manfully declared, "I rejoice to ſee you "here—eager as I am for the diſcovery of truth, "I am happy that you are come to explain all "thoſe points in which you have either been "miſtated or miſapprehended, by the Committee "of Council—You have now an opportunity to "correct thoſe errors—Improve it with all the "ſincerity and the zeal that are the beſt charac-"teriſtics of Engliſhmen." Such ought to have been his language, for ſurely it is by no means diſcreditable for a man of the ſtricteſt honour to explain his opinions, when more mature reflection and greater light on the ſubject have convinced

vinced him that he was wrong. And yet in purſuing a line of conduct diametrically oppoſite to that which I have deſcribed; in adopting the poor and miſerable expedient which the Miniſter preferred to the plain feeling of juſtice and honour, I pledge myſelf to prove, that, with all their ſiniſter induſtry to confuſe and to prevent, they have completely and utterly failed; for not a ſingle inſtance have they been able to offer of glaring and material contradiction upon any one of the numerous witneſſes who have been the conſtant objects of their illiberal attacks.

I have ſaid, Sir, that ſo far as I have been able to comprehend the alterations by hearing them once read over, I am ready to acknowledge they are now infinitely more palateable than at firſt—but I deſire it may be underſtood, that I ſtill inſiſt they are by no means what they ought to be—much of my objection remains, and I have no doubt, but that when Gentlemen come to diſcuſs the amended Reſolutions, they will yet exhibit weighty arguments againſt their ac-

ceptance as the baſis of the future intercourſe between the two countries.

The right honourable Gentleman has now removed the objection which originaly exiſted againſt the firſt Reſolutions; namely, that we thereby ſacrificed the Monopoly of the Aſiatic trade.—How the right honourable Gentleman could originally overlook that moſt important concern, unleſs he meant to aboliſh the monopoly, is a point for which I am utterly at a loſs to account—Surely, the peculiar ſervices which the Company have rendered to his Adminiſtration, might well have claimed a more ſerious attention to their particular intereſts, than the right honourable Gentleman ſeems to have paid them at the preſent important criſis: but rouſed to the performance of his duty by the zeal of Gentlemen on this ſide of the Houſe, he has at length indeed made ſome proviſion for the ſecurity of the Eaſt-India trade—Certainly I do not grudge to the people of Ireland the benefits which he has allotted to them in this branch of commerce—It is by no means improper that they ſhould have

have a ſhare of the out-fit of the Eaſt-India ſhips, as they conſent to a part of the return— Excluded from the commerce of Aſia, it ſeems but barely equitable to permit them to ſupply ſome proportion of the export trade. On the contrary, if at any time, either the neceſſities or the mere will of the Eaſt-India Company ſhould reſort to Ireland for ſuch ſupplies, in preference to the eſtabliſhed trade with their own native dealers, I am ſure there is no Engliſhman of ſenſe or ſpirit who would debar Ireland from every fair participation of thoſe benefits which may be ſafely and juſtly divided.

The right honourable Gentleman has made uſe of the moſt *unfortunate* argument that I ever heard delivered by the moſt *unfortunate* ſpeaker in this or in any aſſembly. He ſays, that giving to Ireland the Engliſh market for the iſſue of Colonial produce, though it will not enable the Iriſh to enter into any dangerous competition with us at home, will yet be of great avail to them, for they will thereby be more capable of taking advantage of the foreign market. This

he explains by ſaying, that having the iſſue of the Engliſh market to depend upon in the laſt reſort, they will have a greater ſpur to adventure—they will import more of the produce of the Colonies—and truſting to the power which they will now have of coming in the end to England with their commodities, they will ſtrive to increaſe their foreign trade, and neceſſarily make their country a ſort of commercial depôt.—If this argument is true of the colonial produce—it is equally true of their own manufactures—If the new advantage of having the Engliſh market as an iſſue is to enable them to puſh their foreign trade to a conſiderable increaſe in the colonial produce, then with preciſely the ſame ground may we contend that having the iſſue of the Engliſh market they will be able to advance their foreign trade for their manufactures. Here then is an end to all the *invective* which was thrown on the manufacturers for having aſſerted that thoſe Reſolutions would affect the manufactures of Great Britain in the foreign market.—They were told with petulance, that they did not underſtand the matter; and that if there was

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any danger of meeting a powerful competitor in the Iriſh manufacturers at the foreign market, that that danger exiſted before—that the foreign market had always been open to the Iriſh manufacturer—True—and of this they were not ignorant—But Ireland had not till now the ſure iſſue of the Engliſh market as a collateral ſecurity for enterprize, and as a ſpur to ſpeculation. I thank the right honourable Gentleman for this argument, but I muſt apprize him that it referrs more to manufactures than to colonial produce. Does he not know, that in colonial produce the home market is every thing, and the foreign market nothing. In manufactures it is the contrary, or nearly ſo. There was good ground therefore for the manufacturers to ſtate, that they ſhould now find a dangerous competitor in Ireland at the foreign market.—

Now, Sir, with reſpect to the *Navigation Act*, upon which I have ſaid ſo much in the courſe of this diſcuſſion, do we not now find that all my apprehenſions were well founded? The right honourable Gentleman has at length *acknowledged* that

that the *Navigation Act* was in *danger*, notwithſtanding his repeated declarations to the contrary.—This conviction of the danger may be collected from the nature of the remedy he has thought it expedient to adopt.—Strong muſt have been the apprehenſions which ſuggeſted ſuch a relief. It is a *relief*, which in the peculiar circumſtances of the two kingdoms, will require very particular conſideration indeed, as its tendency is no leſs than this, that notwithſtanding the *Independance* of *Ireland*, ſhe muſt ſtill *in commercial laws* and *external legiſlation* be *governed* by *Britain*. That ſhe ſhall agree to follow whatever regulations we may think it right to purſue from time to time for ſecuring privileges to our ſhiping, or for reſtraining the trade with our colonies, and that ſuch laws ſhall be in full force in Ireland, is a remedy certainly of a very hazardous kind, but, Sir, though it goes ſo far, it does not ſatisfy me,—it is dangerous indeed, but not efficacious, nor do I think that, ſtrong and bitter as it is, it will be attended with the effects of preventing the various and radical evils which are attached to this pernicious ſyſtem. I

am of opinion, that even if Ireland ſhould agree to this proviſion, we ſhall *deliver up* into the *cuſtody* of another, and that an independent nation, all our *fundamental laws* for the regulation of our trade, and we muſt depend totally on *her bounty* and *liberal ſpirit* for the guardianſhip and protection of our deareſt intereſts.—Now, Sir, although I feel as ſtrong a diſpoſition of partiality and favour towards the Iriſh nation as any man in this houſe.—Although I believe them to be a people as diſtinguiſhed by liberality as any people upon earth, yet this is not of all others, the particular point in which I would chuſe to truſt to their liberality. I think the guardianſhip of the laws which I have mentioned, can be depoſited in no hands ſo properly as in our own. It would be the intereſt of Ireland to evade theſe laws,—and I aſk you what ſecurity there is for the due performance of a commercial contract, when it is the intereſt of a nation to evade it. He who truſts to the vague and raſh notions of abſtract right in preference to the conſtant and uniform teſtimony of experience, will find himſelf miſerably deceived in his calculations on all ſub-

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jects of commercial or political diſcuſſion. When it is the intereſt of a nation to evade a law—that law will be evaded. It always was ſo, —and it always will be ſo. Perhaps there is no inſtance of a country more tenacious of engagements than our own; but, do we not all know, that finding the illicit trade which was ſome time ago carried on to the Spaniſh Main highly beneficial to the country, that that trade was connived at, though in the very teeth of our national engagements. Now, Sir, when it ſhall be felt that Ireland will be materially benefited by evading our laws, and that the introduction of foreign ſugars will be ſo much more valuable to them than the legal importation of our colonial produce, is it to be imagined that the people of Ireland will, out of mere love and liberality, ſhut their eyes againſt their own immediate intereſt, or that the laws which may be made in conformity with this new ſyſtem, will be enforced with vigour and with efficacy. Intereſt is the leading impulſe with nations, and it ſuppoſes nothing unfavourable to the Iriſh, to ſuppoſe that the common feelings which actuate all mankind in their

their public character as ſtates, may prevail alſo with them, when it ſhall be found that foreign ſugars may be introduced 15 or 20 per cent. cheaper than our own, and when it ſhall be found that they can be introduced in American bottoms cheaper than in ſhipping navigated according to the law of Great Britain, it is idle to ſuppoſe that they will not be ſo introduced, that this ſiniſter advantage will not be ſo obtained, that is in other words, that the commerce of England will not be ſo affected and diminiſhed. Mr. Orde on opening his ſyſtem to the Iriſh Parliament, if we may truſt to the report of the newſpapers, (and that we may do ſo, is evident from this circumſtance, that though Mr. Orde was in London ſeveral days, he never came down to the Houſe to contradict the reports, though argument was daily founded upon them) ſtated that Cork would become the *emporium* of the Empire—This expreſſion to be ſure, he afterwards changed to a term more *proſaic* and modeſt, affirming that his original phraſe had been, that Cork would become the *medium* of trade to the Empire. The difference is immaterial, except in the ſound of

the word, for by *medium* I can underſtand nothing elſe, than that the produce of the Weſtern World will in the firſt inſtance be imported into Ireland, be depoſited there as the magazine of the Empire, and be ſubſequently dealt out to Britain as her wants may make ſuch application neceſſary—We have a leſs ſounding and leſs intelligible phraſe, but the real meaning remains ſtill the ſame, and the meaſure of oppreſſion and injury unchanged or abated—That Ireland will be this medium, I have no doubt, and its being ſo, will produce an evil beyond the mere loſs of the direct trade to our colonies, for there is every reaſon to believe, that by this means the produce of the French and other foreign colonies will find their way into the country, to the ruin of our Weſt India planters and merchants. But, ſays the right honourable Gentleman, it is not to be believed, that a circuitous voyage as this will be, can be preferred to a communication with our colonies; and in a whiſper he ſays acroſs the houſe, that Britain even now ſupplies the Iriſh market with colonial produce. — This, Sir, in my opinion ſtrengthens my argument. Such is the decided be-

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nefit reſulting from having two markets inſtead of one, that now we are able with all the diſadvantage of the circuitous voyage, to ſupply Ireland. What then muſt be the conſequence to Ireland when ſhe ſhall enjoy the double market, added to all the advantages ariſing from harbours ſo admirably accommodated by the hand of Nature for the intercourſe in queſtion, from cheap labour and from an almoſt total exemption from national burthens.—She will indeed become the *Emporium*, or if the right honourable Gentleman, out of compliment to his friends in England, likes it better, the *Medium* of trade to the general Empire, and indeed almoſt excluſively ſo with reſpect to the produce of our colonies.

The right honourable Gentleman has been anxious to ſet up an argument in favour of this country, that *great capital* would in all caſes overballance *cheapneſs* of *labour*. I know this to be the faſhionable poſition of the preſent times and of the preſent Government. But general poſitions of all kinds ought to be very cautiouſly admitted indeed on ſubjects ſo infinitely complex

and mutable as politics or commerce—A wiſe man heſitates at giving too implicit a credit to any general maxim of any denomination, and with this conviction in my mind I am prepared to contravert the poſition of the right honourable Gentleman, at the ſame time that I do not deſire to be underſtood or wiſhing to eſtabliſh it contrary—I do not think that *Great Capital* will *always* overbalance *cheapneſs* of *labour*—nor that cheap labour will always overbalance great capital—As general theorems I diſpute both, at the ſame time that I am clearly of opinion, that under certain circumſtances both may be true—We have known ſeveral inſtances in which cheapneſs of labour has triumphed over greatneſs of capital. In the rapid tranſitions of fortune in this country, do we not daily perceive the triumphs of induſtry over wealth; have we not abundant precedents to ſhew that our manufactures have changed their poſitions in this country merely on account of the cheapneſs of labour and proviſion? Have they not within theſe thirty years travelled into Scotland, and is it not likely that for preciſely the ſame reaſon, together

together with other incitements, they will migrate to Ireland. But, ſays the right honourable Gentleman, the difference is not ſo great as is imagined in the price of labour. It is only *rude* labour which is cheap in Ireland—and the finer parts of work are much dearer there than in England. In Proof of this aſſertion he brings Captain Brook to the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, a Gentleman who has eſtabliſhed a very conſiderable manufactory of Cottons in Ireland. Whether it is perfectly proper to bring Gentlemen from Ireland to give evidence before the Houſe of Commons, on a ſubject that is to benefit Ireland and not England, I will not take up much time to enquire. The Iriſh are beyond all queſtion much intereſted in the concluſion of this bargain, and excluſively ſo as to hopes of benefit; their evidence therefore as parties influenced and prejudiced, may perhaps be deemed improper when brought forward to ſupport the ſyſtem; and to perſuade this Houſe.—I know it may be ſaid, that Meſſrs. Richardſon, Walker, Peele, and others, who have given evidence on the other ſide are alſo intereſted

reſted in the termination of this compact—I admit the fact—but on which ſide does their intereſt lie?—and to which ought we in this Houſe to incline? — They are interreſted for England, of which we are the deligated guardians—Mr. Brook is intereſted for Ireland, who is on the other ſide negociating for herſelf. Taking it therefore in that point of view, I cannot heſitate a moment on the path which it becomes me as a Britiſh Member of Parliament to purſue in the credit which I am to beſtow on the evidence adduced. But in this point of the cheapneſs of *rude* labour, hear what the intelligent Mr. Peele ſays.—"The *finer* parts of "work cannot be carried on without the *ruder*. "It is on the rude work that the hand is quali- "fied in its Art—and every man who is em- "ployed in the finer branch was firſt employed "in the coarſer." The cheapneſs of rude labour is therefore an advantage which in manufactures of the fineſt kind muſt be highly favourable; but in theſe which are in their quality coarſe, muſt give to the Country a deciſive ſuperiority. In one inſtance this has been proved. A manufacturer

facturer of Norwich gives it in evidence that he can buy in Norwich, Iriſh worſted yarn cheaper than he can buy Engliſh—although it is ſubject to five or ſix duties before it reaches him—and ſubject alſo to the expence of the voyage and of the carriage, as well as of the internal duties in Ireland; ſo that upon a fair and juſt calculation it is demonſtrable, that they can manufacture worſted yarn in Ireland 45 or 50 *per cent* cheaper than in England — But ſay the witneſſes from Ireland, it is by no means likely that Ireland will ever eſtabliſh a cotton manufactury to rival that of Mancheſter. It would not be her intereſt to do ſo, and there are many ſtubborn inconveniencies which ſhe has to ſurmount. I will admit the ſuppoſition for the ſake of argument, though I by no means think it founded in probability. But admitting even that ſhe ſhall not think of eſtabliſhing a cotton manufactory, ſhe may ſtill by theſe new Reſolutions effectually cut off the Iriſh market from ours; for having a manufacture of her own to ſubſtitute in the room of this, ſhe may lay a duty on cottons, which by the principle of countervailing duties might amount to

to a prohibition of ours, and by a ſide-blow therefore annihilate the Mancheſter manufacture in the Iriſh market at once.

And this leads me to an Argument which has been much inſiſted on in favour of theſe Reſolutions—That by the means of the new ſyſtem, the right honourable Gentleman would have the merit of putting an end to all idea of *protecting duties*. On what rational ground does he claim to himſelf this merit? By the power which is thus left to each country, to lay internal duties on ſuch manufactures as they may covet to cruſh for the ſake of advancing a ſubſtitute, he gives riſe to a *countervailing duty* that will act as a complete though indirect *prohibition*; and that this is in favour of Ireland and inimical to England, is evident from this circumſtance, that by the fatal ninth Reſolution we have forever given up the only remaining hold which could have operated as a protection againſt ſo obvious and alarming an inconvenience. Protecting duties, however threatened, would never have been impoſed under the old intercourſe; for the good ſenſe of Ireland would

would not have ſuffered the danger of retaliation on their ſtaple commodity—That danger they will now no longer be expoſed to. But, ſays the right honourable Gentleman, we ſhall by this means bind the two nations together in indiſſoluble bands ;—That between nation and nation, the intercourſe ſhould be regulated by principles of equality and juſtice—and that this ought to be more particularly ſtudied between nations that are ſiſters as it were, and are ſo connected in Intereſt and in blood as Great Britain and Ireland.—To ſuch Principles as theſe, if acted upon with wiſdom or the chance of mutual harmony, far would it be from me, to object.—My objection is—that the Intercourſe is *not* to be regulated by principles of equality and juſtice. Let us ſuppoſe fair and equal admiſſion of manufactures into each country free of all duties—Which of the kingdoms would ſhudder moſt at ſuch a freedom? The Iriſh undoubtedly—We are to give them an intercourſe infinitely more beneficial than throwing open our ports entirely, and in doing this, we have given to Ireland the power of offending us without re-

ſerving the means even of retaliation, much leſs of prevention.

By the ſeventh Reſolution, we bind ourſelves in no future time to prohibit the export of raw materials to Ireland. This is a meaſure which may be found highly prejudicial to our manufactures.—In the courſe of this ſeſſion, we have paſſed an Act to prevent the export of rabbit ſkins, for the benefit of our hat manufactory. May not other occaſions ariſe, in which it would highly affect us to ſuffer raw materials to go out of our hands into thoſe of foreign ſtates, under the name of Ireland; for ſuch is the danger that I apprehend. A cargo of raw materials may be entered at our cuſtom houſe for Ireland; but what ſecurity ſhall we have, either for their being carried thither, or for their ſtay in the country if they reach it? Never let us be ſo weak as to truſt to generoſity, when intereſt is at ſtake.

The ninth Reſolution, Sir, is that which I reprobate the moſt, and in that no alteration is made,

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By that Reſolution we for ever ſurrender the only power which we had of enforcing the due performance of all the parts of the bargain, obligatory on Ireland. By giving up all legiſlative controul over the admiſſion of her ſtaple into Britain, we for ever throw ourſelves on the mercy of Ireland, and have no means of protecting ourſelves againſt her future caprices. It is by ſuch means that the right honourable Gentleman hopes to produce a laſting amity between the two kingdoms: He provides ill for peace, who deprives himſelf of the weapens of war. True policy ſuggeſts, that with a diſpoſition to be amicable ourſelves, we ſhould be prepared againſt the effects of a contrary diſpoſition in others.

In regard to the compenſation, I hardly know in what view of it to expreſs my particular reprobation.—The exaction of a permanent proviſion from Ireland, is what I conſider as a meaſure, pregnant with the moſt alarming conſequences to the liberties and to the conſtitution of both countries. As an Iriſhman, I would never conſent to grant it;

and as an Engliſhman, I cannot accept it.—What Ireland cannot concede with ſafety, England cannot receive with grace. It has always been the leading and characteteſtic privilege of our legiſlature, and when I ſpeak of ours in this inſtance, I may include the legiſlature of Ireland alſo—to limit all grants of ſupplies to the period of *one* year. Thus the ſupplies for the army are voted annually—for the navy annually, &c—for the ordnance annually, and ſo alſo in every deſcription of public expenditure, that may any way tend to produce an undue controul over the ſubject—To make them perpetual, even though the application of them is to be left to the diſpoſal of Parliament, is a meaſure to which I cannot give my conſent.—It eſtabliſhes a precedent for diminiſhing the ſole ſecurity, which the domeſtic branch of the conſtitution poſſeſſes againſt the encroachments of the executive.—Annual ſupplies are the vital ſource of the influence and authority which the repreſentative body have, and ought to have in the reſpective legiſlature of the two countries, and I can accede to no regulation that has the

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operation of impairing ſo invaluable a privilege in the ſmalleſt degree.—I object to this compenſation on another account; and that is, that I do not think it worth our acceptance: for even if the ſurplus of the hereditary revenue ſhould amount to a ſum, which might be valuable when applied to the maintenance of our navy, what ſecurity have we that the Iriſh nation may not withdraw the ſum which they now appropriate to the army? They now maintain a very conſiderable part of our army—I wiſh to know if it will not be in their power to withold that ſum whenever they ſhall deem it expedient, after the eſtabliſhment of this new ſyſtem. Therefore, what we gain in the one way, we may loſe in the other.—We may loſe from our army what we are to gain in our navy, with this material difference ſtill exiſting between the two caſes, that the ſupply which is now granted on the part of Ireland, for the ſupport of our army, is granted in a manner truly and perfectly congenial with the practice and ſpirit of our own conſtitution, whereas, the propoſed expedient of the ſervice of our navy, originates in a violation of

of both, and cannot operate but to the obvious diſadvantage of the popular department of the Iriſh Government. The right honourable Gentleman, ſays, the ſurplus of the hereditary Revenue; would be appropriated to the purchaſe of proviſions for the navy, and that thus it would be beneficial to Ireland—To this I have no objection; I think it would be reaſonable and advantageous.—But to the *permanency* of the grant, I muſt enter my moſt cordial and determined proteſt—The right honourable Gentleman, ſays, that here he would not truſt to the generoſity of Ireland for a compenſation, which he conſiders as founded in juſtice. He will implicitly truſt to her generoſity and kindneſs, for the due and vigorous execution of the trade laws, but he will not truſt to her generoſity for the return which ſhe ſhall make, for his preſent benevolence towards her.—In this I compleatly differ with the right honourable Gentleman—I would truſt to Ireland in the caſe where he would not, and I would not where he would.—If there is any nation upon earth, in whom on a point of honourable compenſation—

penſation—I would have implicit confidence—it is Ireland. But in the due performance of commercial regulations, where the laws ſtand for ever in the way of intereſt and adventure—I would not truſt to any people exiſting. In the caſe of the compenſation, the voice of all Ireland would be heard in her Parliament—In the inſtance of ſiniſter trade, it would he confined to the intrigues between ſmugglers and cuſtom houſe officers—and neither the generoſity nor the manlineſs of the more enlightened and poliſhed part of the nation at all would be concerned in the diſcuſſion.

The right honourable Gentleman has inſinuated, that there is an immediate neceſſity for adopting the ſyſtem which he has propoſed—That is as much as to ſay in plain Engliſh—he has held out the Reſolutions to Ireland, and the *neceſſity* for adopting them has ariſen from his having done ſo. This is a mode of argument which merits a great ſhare of countenance, whatever truth there may be in the fact. Ireland is not however, I truſt ſo irrational, as to inſiſt upon the raſh and intempe-

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rate transfer of privileges, demonſtrably ruinous to England. " But," ſays the right honourable Gentleman, " this ſyſtem will finally determine " every queſtion between the two nations—and " nothing can ariſe in future to make a conteſt " between them."—I call upon the right honourable Gentleman to ſay, what ſecurity he can give us, for the certain accompliſhment of his preſage. Does he ſpeak from experience? Evidently not—Experience of the firſt, which I conceive to be the laſt criterion, by which to determine the probability of the future, is againſt him. When the Noble Lord in the Blue Ribband, in the year 1780, opened to the Iriſh the trade of our Colonies, the Parliament of that country declared themſelves fully gratified, and thanked his Majeſty in terms of the utmoſt gratitude, and apparent ſatisfaction. In a few months however their voice was heard again. In the Adminiſtration of which I made a part, their legiſlature was declared to be independent, and in Addreſſes from both Houſes of Parliament, they profeſſed themſelves ſo entirely content, as not to conſider it poſſible that any ſubſequent

quent queſtion of political diviſion could ariſe between the two kingdoms. Yet in the very next ſeſſion they gave indications of new diſatisfaction, and further conceſſions were made. How are men to argue from theſe facts? One would imagine, that the moſt effectual and ſatisfactory method of quieting the apprehenſions, or relieving the exigencies of a diſtreſſed country, would be that of appealing to their own teſtimony, for a knowledge of their circumſtances — to collect information from themſelves — to deſire them to ſtate, in their own perſons, the meaſure of their calamities, and the beſt expedients for the relief of them. This was preciſely the way purſued heretofore. The conceſſions were granted on the declarations of the beſt informed men in the land— men the beſt qualified to know the ſtate, the wants, and the expectations of the kingdom. Mr. Huſſey Burgh, and Mr. Grattan, names, which no man could mention, but with the ſincereſt and moſt cordial reſpect, were the authorities on which England proceeded, and on which ſhe relied. But this it ſeems, however ſpecious and natural, was

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not the proper method of aſcertaining the wants or wiſhes of another kingdom. — The true and only means of finally concluding all diſputes with Ireland, is to ſend a *ſtranger* there—and order him to addreſs himſelf to their Senate—in ſuch language as this—" Hear me, ye men of Ignorance and Credulity!—You know nothing of what you want, what you wiſh, or what would be good for you—truſt yourſelves to me—I am perfect maſter of all your infirmities—Here is the ſpecific that will cure you, the infallible noſtrum for all ailments"—It ſeems that this is the only conciliatory expedient, for adminiſtering to the relief of a diſordered ſtate—Not to ſuffer the inhabitants to ſpeak, but to ſend a man amongſt them ignorant at once of their exigencies, their grievances, and their policy, to propoſe wild ſchemes of extravagant ſpeculation, and preſcribe for the diſorder, without the painful tediouſneſs of trying to underſtand it. In compliance with this new idea, Mr. Orde, an Engliſh Gentleman, the Secretary to an Engliſh Nobleman, the Lord Lieutenant for the time, riſes up and propoſes a ſett of Reſolu-

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tions which he pledges himſelf to carry into complete execution. Theſe Reſolutions are brought to England, and after two months diſcuſſion are *compleatly* and *fundamentally altered.*—Upon theſe Reſolutions the right honourable gentleman thinks himſelf warranted to ſay that the ſyſtem will be *final.* The right honourable gentleman ſaid, he muſt have a *fund* of *credulity* who believed all the evidence which the manufacturers had given at the bar. In like manner I ſay, that he muſt have a *fund* of *credulity* indeed, who can believe on ſuch premiſes that the Iriſh will be content with this ſyſtem, or that the general intereſts of both countries can be promoted by its eſtabliſhment.

It is poſſible, ſays the right honourable Gentleman, "That one country may not loſe what an-"other may gain." I am very ready to agree with the right honourable Gentleman, that in ſimilar manufactures, or even in the ſame manufacture, one country might open channels of commerce unknown to an other, the one acquire riches without the other ſuffering diminution. But it ſo happens, that between England

and Ireland, under theſe reſolutions this cannot be the caſe. Their channels of conſumption are preciſely the ſame, and a mutual participation in all markets is the leading principle of the agreement. Ireland therefore cannot make a ſingle acquiſition but to the proportionate loſs of England. I defy the right honourable Gentleman to mention any one article, and he has not mentioned one, in which Ireland may gain without England ſuffering a loſs. This, Sir, conſtitutes the diſtinct and prominent evidence of the impolicy of the ſyſtem. It is this which will ſtir up jealouſy between the two countries, and make Engliſhmen and Iriſhmen look at one another with cold hearts and ſuſpicious eyes. If any one thing demands more than another the cautious deliberation of the committee, it is that of guarding againſt inſidious comptetition,—to take care that the new ſyſtem ſhall not make the countries rivals inſtead of friends.

Another objection requires a more ſatisfactory anſwer than it has yet obtained. We have gone great lengths for the ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling, and

and have loaded our conſtituents with a Commutation Tax of a moſt heavy and unequal kind, merely to cruſh the contraband trade on our coaſts. Upon the very heel of a moſt oppreſſive and unequitable expedient, for the prevention of ſmuggling, we are preparing to adopt a new ſyſtem, that will give to every ſpecies of this indirect and contrraband commerce ten times the vigour and the generality that if ever poſſeſſed in the country. —This is the right honourable Gentleman's conſiſtency.—In one year he loads the ſubject with the moſt intolerable impoſition to which they ever were expoſed, and the ſingle motive, as well as the only poſſible excuſe for it is this—the prevention of ſmuggling.—The next—He introduces a new meaſure, the obvious and undeniable tendency of which is, to encourage all illicit trade, to an extent hitherto unknown in any period of our hiſtory—for by means of this new intercourſe—no laws—no watchfulneſs—no penalties will have power enough to prevent the revival of every ſort of contraband trade. I ſhall mention only a ſingle article or two, to ſhew you the facility which theſe new reſolutions will give to the

the exerciſe of ſmuggling. At preſent, ſo anxious are we to guard againſt the illicit importation of French gloves, that we have had recourſe to a prevention of unexampled rigour and ſeverity. Beſides the penalty, which is uncommonly high, the perſon in whoſe cuſtody ſuſpected gloves are found, is obliged to prove that they were made in this country. The *onus probandi* lies upon the perſon *accuſed*, an inſtance of ſeverity unknown to the general penal proviſions of our ſtatutes. When this communication with Ireland is opened, what will be the conſequence. The perſon has only to ſay that they are Iriſh.—It will be in vain that you call upon him to prove that they are manufactured there,—and thus you will have articles of every kind poured in upon you.—Silk ſtockings is another article of the ſame kind. Diſtinctions will be impracticable, and every ſpecies of light goods of ſmall package and eaſy transfer, will flow in upon us, to the ruin of our manufactures.

I ſhall conclude, Sir, with ſupplicating the Committee to take time to deliberate and to enquire

quire fully before they decide in this ſyſtem which muſt make an entire revolution. In the whole ſyſtem of Britiſh Commerce we have ſeen the benefits of delay. Let us be wiſe from experience. It is impoſſible that Ireland can object to our deſiring a ſober deliberation on a ſubject ſo infinitely important. It is ſaid that Ireland is out of temper—and that ſhe has been irritated almoſt beyond her bearing. Miniſters are anſwerable for this irritation, if ſuch irritation exiſts. The violences which they have committed in Ireland deſerve the moſt marked and general reprobation. Their attacks on the liberty of the preſs—their endeavours to prevent the legal and quiet meetings of counties to deliberate on the beſt peaceable means of amending their deficient repreſentation.—Their proceeding againſt men by ſummary attachment—all were violences which perhaps may have inflamed Ireland, and now Miniſters are deſirous of avoiding the conſequences of imprudent inſult by imprudent conceſſion—but let us be cautious how we aſſiſt them in a deſign which may eventually turn out as inſidious to that country as it would be ruinous to this—a deſign

deſign which may perhaps involve in it another commutation, and that a more pernicious one, even that well known and univerſally execrated meaſure which now bears that name—a commutation of Engliſh Commerce for Iriſh ſlavery.

Let us remember, that all the manufacturing Communities of Britain, are avowedly againſt the ſyſtem.—So general an union never took place as on this occaſion—So large a number of petitions never were preſented from the Manufacturers on any former occaſion; and what is ſtill more remarkable, there is but one ſolitary inſtance of any manufacturing body having expreſſed a ſyllable in its favour.—The *voice of the whole country* is, therefore againſt the Reſolutions. It is within the memory of all men, that ſometime ago the right honourable Gentleman was an advocate for the *voice of the people*—"What" ſaid he, when a number of petitions were preſented againſt the India Bill, which I had the honour to move, "will you perſiſt in this Bill againſt the "*voice* of the *people*—will you not hearken to the "Petitions upon your table?"—It was ever my opinion,

opinion, Sir, that petitions ſhould be heard, and moſt ſeriouſly attended to, but it was not my opinion—that they ſhould always be implicitly complied with. A diſtinction ſhould be made between petitions, as temporary circumſtances, or the caſualties under which they are preſented, ſhould ſuggeſt. And I ſhould certainly be at all times more inclined to pay reſpect to them, when they applied to ſubjects, of which the petitioners could, from their habits or otherwiſe, be conſidered as competent judges—much more ſo beyond all queſtion, than when they ſpoke merely from vague repreſentations, and on topics with which they had no means of being at all converſant. The right honourable Gentleman is of a contrary opinion. It is only when they come *againſt the India Bill* that he thinks them worthy of notice. When hundreds of thouſands come to our bar, deprecating the countenance of a ſyſtem, which, from their own knowledge, they pronounce to be ruinous to the manufactures of England, he treats them with ſomething that merits a ſeverer term than *diſdain*. Mr. Wedgewood, Mr. Richardſon,

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Mr. Walker, and the other great manufacturers, —and who from opulence and every other conſideration, are worthy to be ranked with the beſt men in this houſe, have received from the right honourable gentleman every ſpecies of ill treatment and indignity that the lower or moſt degraded characters could receive, or the moſt contemptuous and violent could beſtow. Their intelligence on their reſpective manufactures ought to give weight to their petitions as well as to their evidence, and to enſure them, not only a decent hearing, but a moſt attentive regard. The right honourable gentleman however conſiders the *voice of the people*, only as *ſacred* and *commanding*, where it is exerted againſt things upon which the petitioners are not competent to decide. For inſtance; if when theſe gentlemen (who I dare ſay, during the rage of oppoſition to the India Bill, alſo ſigned petitions againſt it) were at the bar, they had been aſked if they objected to that Bill, and they had anſwered in the affirmative, would their teſtimony in the one caſe have been deſerving of the ſame notice as on the intereſts of their particular

ular manufacture?—Surely not—In the one caſe they ſpoke from what they heard, or from what they conjectured—in the other from what they knew.—Can the Committee think that they know more of the Mancheſter manufacture than Mr. Richardſon and Mr. Walker?—of the iron mauufacture than the gentlemen that we have heard this day?—and of every other manufacture than the perſons who have ſpent their lives in the ſtudy, and embarked their fortunes in the progreſs?—If we do know better, let us in the name of heaven diſcharge our conſciences and ſpeak as we think, againſt thoſe manufacturers,—but at any rate let us deliberate—let us take time to think before we act. Our deciſion will not be leſs efficacious for being the reſult of enquiry, nor is it poſſible that any evil can ariſe from a delay which affords ſome interval for decent diſcuſſion.

Before I ſit down, Mr. Gilbert, it may not be amiſs to ſuggeſt to gentlemen, that the preſent is a ſubject from which above all others, private partialities or perſonal attachments ought to be

totally excluded—This is not a queſtion of perſonal ſtruggle between man and man—a conteſt for power, nor the mere war of individual ambition.—It is a queſtion of life and death for the country—not for the official exiſtence of this or that Miniſter, but for the political exiſtence of Great Britain itſelf.—In the conſideration of ſuch a queſtion, therefore, let Gentlemen ſtrip themſelves at once of prejudices and predilections—let them guard their minds equally againſt an undue bias of every denomination, whether of political ſympathy with the Miniſter, or of attachment to oppoſition—whether of individual reſpect for Gentlemen on that ſide of the Houſe or on this—let them recollect that the Miniſter has by his conduct this day, ſhewn and demonſtrated to the Houſe, that implicit confidence in him is as dangerous as it is abſurd—That infallibility is no more the prerogative of the right honourable Gentleman than of the reſt of the world—He has introduced ſixteen new Propoſitions, the general object of which is to correct and to qualify his original ſyſtem, and the particular

ticular aim of ſome of which is to change the very eſſence or vital nature of his previous plan—Let us ſuppoſe then, that this principle of implicit confidence had prevailed in the minds of Gentlemen, when this ſyſtem was originally propoſed to the Houſe—if they had acceded to the Propoſitions, in the ſhape and formation in which they were at firſt preſented (and that it was for a long time the Miniſter's intention to obtrude them upon this Houſe with all their original infirmities upon their head, is well known to us and to the world) what would have followed?—Why evidently this — That this confidence ſo repoſed, would have led Gentlemen to do that, which in the opinion of the Miniſter himſelf would have been *wrong*—let this example therefore of the demonſtrated and acknowleged peril which reſults from blind predilection and the total reſignation of perſonal judgement, warn Gentlemen how they fall in the ſame error a ſecond time—The Miniſter himſelf tells them this day, that they would have been in the groſſeſt and moſt pernicious error in which the Legiſlators

giſlators of a great country were ever involved, if they had truſted entirely to him on a former occaſion—I will take upon *me* to tell them that their error will not be leſs groſs nor leſs pernicious if they truſt him too implicitly on this—I ſhall only add, Sir, that he who can underſtand ſo complicated and ſo extenſive a ſubject upon ſo ſlight and tranſient a view of it, poſſeſſes an intellect not common to the general body of mankind, and which certainly can not be the general characteriſtic of this Houſe—For one, I can truly ſay, he muſt poſſeſs an underſtanding of infinitely more quickneſs and acumen than any to which I pretend—He that votes for the Propoſitions without underſtanding them, is guilty of ſuch a deſertion of his duty and his patriotiſm as no ſubſequent penitence can poſſibly atone for — He ſacrifices the commerce of Great Britain at the ſhrine of private partiality, and ſells his country for the whiſtling of a name. The Miniſter who exacts, and the Member who ſubmits to ſo diſgraceful an obedience, are equally criminal—The man who, holding the firſt ſeat

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in his Majeſty's Councel, can ſtoop to ſo diſgraceful and fallacious a canvas, *as to reſt* his Miniſterial exiſtence on the deciſion of a great national queſtion like this, muſt be wholly loſt to all ſenſe of dignity, of character, or manly patriotiſm—and he who acquieſces in it from any other inducement but that of cautious and ſincere conviction, ſurrenders every claim to the rank and eſtimation of an honeſt and independent Member of Parliament, and ſinks into the meaneſs and degradation of a mere miniſterial inſtrument, unworthy the ſituation of a Senator, and diſgraceful to the name of an Engliſhman.—

The

Authentic Copy of the IRISH RESOLUTIONS, as originally laid on the Table of the Houſe of Commons.

1ſt. RESOLVED, That it is highly important to the general intereſt of the Britiſh Empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as poſſible; and for that purpoſe, that the intercourſe and commerce be finally ſettled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles for the mutual benefit of both countries.

2d. Reſolved, That towards carrying into full effect ſo deſirable a ſettlement, it is fit and proper, that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, ſhould be imported into each kingdom from the other, reci-

procally, under the ſame regulation, and at the ſame duties, if ſubject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country reſpectively, ſhall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.

3d. Reſolved, That for the ſame purpoſe, it is proper that no prohibition ſhould exiſt in either country, againſt the importation, uſe, or ſale of any article, the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every ſuch article, if ſubject to duty, in either country, ſhould be precifely the ſame in the one country as in the ohter, except where an addition may be neceſſary in either country, in conſequence of an internal duty on any ſuch article of its own conſumption.

4th. Reſolved, That in all caſes where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it would be expedient

pedient that they ſhould be reduced in the kingdom where they are the higheſt, to the amount payable in the other, and that all ſuch articles ſhould be exportable from the kingdom into which they ſhall be imported, as free from duty as the ſimilar commodities or home manufacture of the ſame kingdom.

5th. Reſolved, That for the ſame purpoſe it is alſo proper that in all caſes where either kingdom ſhall charge articles of its own conſumption with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the ſame manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation to the ſame amount as the internal duty on the manufacture, or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the material, and ſhall be entitled to ſuch drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the ſame ſubject to no heavier burthen than the home-made manufacture; ſuch farther duty to continue ſo long only as the internal conſumption ſhall be charged with the duty or duties, to balance which it ſhall be impoſed, or until

the manufacture, coming from the other kingdom, ſhall be ſubjected there to an equal burthen, not drawn back or compenſated on exportation.

6th. Reſolved, That in order to give permanency to the ſettlement now intended to be eſtabliſhed, it is neceſſary, that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, ſhould be hereafter impoſed in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except ſuch additional duties as may be requiſite to balance duties on internal conſumption, purſuant to the foregoing reſolution.

7th. Reſolved, That for the ſame purpoſe it is neceſſary farther, that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, ſhould be hereafter impoſed in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture from thence to the other, except ſuch as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits;

cuits; and alſo except where there now exiſts any prohibition which is not reciprocal, or any duty which is not equal in both kingdoms, in every which caſe the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raiſed ſo as to make them equal.

8th. Reſolved, That for the ſame purpoſe it is neceſſary, that no bounties whatſoever ſhould be paid, or payable, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except ſuch as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits, and ſuch as are in the nature of drawbacks or compenſations for duties paid, and that no duty ſhould be granted in this kingdom on the exportation of any article imported from the Britiſh Plantations, or any manufacture made of ſuch article, unleſs in caſes where a ſimilar bounty is payable in Britain, on exportation from thence, or where ſuch bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compenſation of, or for duties paid over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain.

9th. Reſolved, That it is expedient for the general benefit of the Britiſh empire, that the importation of articles from foreign States ſhould be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom, on ſuch terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of ſimilar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other.

10th. Reſolved, That it is eſſential to the commercial intereſts of this country to prevent, as much as poſſible, an accumulation of national debt, and therefore it is highly expedient that the annual revenues of this kingdom ſhould be made equal to its annual expences.

11th. Reſolved, That for the better protection of trade, whatever ſum the groſs hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties, granted in the nature of drawbacks,) ſhall produce, over and above the ſum of 656,000l. in each year of peace, wherein the annual revenues ſhall be equal to the annual expences, and in each year

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of war, without regard to ſuch equality, ſhould be appropriated towards the ſupport of the naval force of the empire, in ſuch manner as the Parliament of this kingdom ſhall direct.

Authentic Copy of the RESOLUTIONS, as amended by the Right Honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Die Jovis 12 *Maii*, 1785.

1. THAT it is highly important to the general intereſts of the Britiſh Empire, that the intercourſe and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, ſhould be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles for the mutual benefit of both countries.

2. That a full participation of commercial advantages ſhould be permanently ſecured to Ireland, whenever a proviſion equally permanent and ſecure ſhall be made by the Parliament of that kingdom, towards defraying in proportion to its growing proſperity,

proſperity; the neceſſary expences in time of peace; of protecting the trade, and general intereſts of the empire.

3. That towards carrying into full effect ſo deſireable a ſettlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland*, *except thoſe of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and the Streights of Magellan,* ſhould be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the ſame regulations, and that the ſame duties, (if ſubject to duties,) to which they *would be* liable when exported from the *country or place, from whence the ſame may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland reſpectively, as the caſe may be*; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country reſpectively,

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* The words in Italics in the body and at the end of the third Reſolution, were amendments adopted in the Committee on the motion of the right honourable Mr. Eden.

" except on arrack and foreign brandy, and on " rum, and all ſorts of ſtrong waters, not imported " from the Britiſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies or " America," ſhall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other; *but nevertheleſs the duties ſhall continue to be protected and guarded as at preſent, by withholding the drawback until a certificate from the proper Officers of the Revenues in the kingdom to which the export may be made, ſhall be returned and compared with the entry outward.*

4. That it is highly important to the general intereſts of the Britiſh Empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navivation, ſhould be the ſame in Great Britain and Ireland; and therefore, that it is eſſential towards carrying into effect the preſent ſettlement, that all laws which have been made, or ſhall be made in Great Britain, for ſecuring excluſive privileges to the ſhips and mariners of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Britiſh Colonies and Plantations, and for regulating and reſtraining the trade of the Britiſh Colonies and Plantations, ſhall be in force in Ire

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land, in the ſame manner as in Great Britain; and that proper meaſures ſhould from time to time be taken, for effectually carrying the ſame into execution.

5. That it is further eſſential to this ſettlement, that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Britiſh or foreign Colonies, in America or the Weſt-Indies, and the Britiſh or foreign ſettlements on the Coaſt of Africa, imported into Ireland, ſhould, on importation, be ſubject to the ſame duties as the like goods are, or from time to time ſhall be, ſubject to upon importation into Great Britain.

6. That in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which ſhall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, ſhould be put, by laws to be paſſed in

the Parliaments of the two kingd ms, under the ſame regulations with reſpect to bonds, cockets, and other inſtruments, to which the like goods are now ſubject, in paſſing from one port of Great Britain to another; and that all goods, the growth, produce or manufacture of Ireland, imported into Great Britain, be accompanied with a like certificate, as is now required by law, on the importation of Iriſh linens into Great Britain.

7. That for the like purpoſe it is alſo expedient, that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the Britiſh Weſt-India Iſlands, ſhall be ſhipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they ſhould be accompanied with ſuch original certificates of the revenue officers of the Britiſh ſugar Colonies, as ſhall be required by law on importation into Great Britain. and that when the whole quantity included in one certificate, ſhall not ſhipped at any one time, the original certificate properly indorſed as to quantity, ſhould be ſent with the firſt parcel; and to indentify the remainder,

if

if ſhipped at any future period, new certificates ſhould be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a regiſter of the original documents, ſpecifying the quantities before ſhipped from thence, by what veſſels, and to what ports.

8. That it is eſſential for carrying into effect the preſent ſettlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the Britiſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies or America, ſhould from time to time be made liable to ſuch duties and drawbacks, and put under ſuch regulations as may be neceſſary, in order that the ſame may not be exported with leſs incumbrance of duties or impoſitions, than the like goods ſhall be burthened with when exported from Great Britain.

9. That it is eſſential to the general commercial intereſt of the empire, that no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, ſhould be importable into Ireland from any foreign European

pean country, or from any ſettlement in the Eaſt-Indies, belonging to any ſuch foreign European country; and that ſo long as the Parliament of this kingdom ſhall think it adviſeable that the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope ſhall be carried on ſolely by an exclusive company, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the ſaid countries ſhould be allowed to be imported into Ireland, but through Great Britain; and that the ſhips going from Great Britain to any of the ſaid countries, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, ſhould not be reſtrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and taking on board there any of the goods, of the growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom.

10. That it is neceſſary for the general benefit of the Britiſh Empire, that no prohibition ſhould exiſt in either country againſt the importation, uſe, or ſale of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other ("except ſuch as either

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" kingdom may judge expedient, from time to " time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuit,") and that the duty on the importation of every ſuch article, if ſubject to duty in either country, ſhould be preciſely the ſame in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be neceſſary, in either country, in conſequence of an internal duty on any ſuch article, of its own conſumption.'

11. That in all caſes where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they ſhould be reduced in the kingdom where they are the higheſt to the amount payable in the other; and that all ſuch articles ſhould be exportable from the kingdom into which they ſhall be imported, as free from duty as the ſimilar commodities or home manufactures of the ſame kingdom.

12. That it is alſo proper, that in all caſes where the articles of the conſumption of either kingdom ſhall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture,

nufacture, the ſame manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture; except in the caſe of beer imported into Ireland; ſuch farther duty to continue ſo long only as the internal conſumption ſhall be charged with the duty or duties, to balance which it ſhall be impoſed, and that where there is a duty on the importation of the raw material of any manufacture, in one kingdom, greater than the duty on the like raw material in the other, or where the whole or part of ſuch duty on the raw material is drawn back, or compenſated, on exportation of the manufacture from one kingdom to the other, ſuch manufacture may, on its importation, be charged with ſuch a countervailing duty as may be ſufficient to ſubject the ſame ſo imported, to the ſame burdens, as the manufacture compoſed of the like raw material is ſubject to, in conſequence of duties on the importation of ſuch material in the kingdom into which ſuch manufacture is ſo imported; and the ſaid manufactures ſo imported, ſhall be intitled to ſuch drawbacks or

bounties